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QUOTE

S E C R E T NICOSIA 0612

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT CY

SUBJ: EMBASSY COMMENTS ON GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS

REF: NICOSIA 0581

1. SUMMARY: ON FEBRUARY 11, IN HANDING EMBASSY GREEK CYPRIOT PRINCIPLES FOR NEGOTIATION, FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES NOTED THAT GOC MAKING TEXT AVAILABLE TO FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND THAT USG FIRST TO RECEIVE PAPER. IN HIS FORMAL EXPLICATION OF PAPER CHRISTOPHIDES DECLARED PROPOSED PRINCIPLES REPRESENT LARGE CONCESSION TO TURK SIDE AND THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD NOT FALL BACK FROM THIS INITIAL POSITION. IN LATER PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, HE INDICATED GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD NO EXPECTATION TURK SIDE WOULD ACCEPT DRAFT PRINCIPLES IN TOTO BUT EXPRESSED HOPE THAT USG, AND OTHERS, WOULD PERSUADE TURKS NOT TO REJECT PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND. HE HOPED PRINCIPLES WOULD BE ACCEPTED AS

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BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION. EMBASSY VIEWS PROPOSALS AS SKILL-

FULLY DRAFTED AND SUFFICIENTLY VAGUE TO ALLOW TURK SIDE AVOID FLAT TURNDOWN. CERTAIN PRINCIPLES POSSIBLY ACCEPTABLE, OTHERS LESS AGREEABLE BUT SEEMINGLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO COMPROMISE OR MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY DUAL INTERPRETATIONS. MOST UNREALIZABLE ELEMENTS OF GREEK CYPRIOT PROPOSALS IN PRACTICAL TERMS ARE DEMANDS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ALL TROOPS AND RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES BUT THOSE ARE THINGS ANY GREEK WOULD HAVE TO SAY AND ARE IN UN RESOLUTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. ARTFUL GREEK CYPRIOT DOCUMENT STRIKES US AS SUFFICIENTLY VAGUE TO AVOID FLAT REJECTION BY TURKS. IT CERTAINLY OFFERS AREAS WITHIN WHICH NEGOTIATORS COULD DEFINE ISSUES AND, HOPEFULLY, NARROW DIFFERENCES. IF TURK CYPRIOTS REPLY IN KIND, INTERLOCUTORS MAY FINALLY BE ABLE TO GET DOWN TO THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES.

3. FIRST PRINCIPLE SHOULD REPRESENT NO DIFFICULTY FOR TURKS SINCE IT DROPS ANY REFERENCE TO "UNITARY STATE". SECOND PRINCIPLE'S REFERENCE TO "BICOMMUNAL MULTI-REGIONAL FEDERAL STATE" SHOULD ACTUALLY APPEAL TO TURKS SINCE MULTI-REGIONAL COULD MEAN ANY NUMBER MORE THAN ONE. "BICOMMUNAL" AND "FEDERAL" PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO TURKS AND WERE INCLUDED AT INSISTENCE OF CLERIDES. LIKEWISE, IN PRINCIPLE THREE, GREEKS HAVE ACCEPTED A "SUBSTANTIAL" AREA OF TURKISH CONTROL IN NORTH BUT HAVE NOT SOUGHT DEFINE THIS AND HAVE ACCEPTED FACT THAT TURKISH AREA SHALL ABUT ON THE SEA. THIS IS AN IMPROVEMENT. THERE WILL BE VERY GREAT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, OF COURSE, WHEN BOUNDARY DETAILS AND SPECIFIC AREAS ARE NEGOTIATED.

4. REFERENCE TO "OTHER AREAS" FOR TUP CYPRIOTS IN PRINCIPLE FOUR LIKELY BE REJECTED BY DENKTASH SINCE IT HAS THE FLAVOR OF A MULTI-CANTONAL ARRANGEMENT. PERHAPS, IN THE END, THIS COULD REFER TO UNSURRENDERED VILLAGES IN PAPHOS DISTRICT.

5. THE WORD "APPROXIMATE" IN PRINCIPLE FIVE WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT TURKISH-CONTROLLED AREA COULD EXCEED POPULATION RATIO, PERHAPS ENOUGH TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO TURKS. TURK MINIMUM DEMAND IS PROBABLY 28-30 PERCENT; GREEKS FALLBACK POSITION IS THOUGHT TO BE 25 PERCENT. THIS WOULD SEEM BRIDGEABLE.

6. INTERESTINGLY, QUALIFYING PHRASE "SHOULD THERE BE NEED" IN SECRET

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PRINCIPLE SIX WOULD APPEAR TO LEAVE DOOR OPEN FOR NON-RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES. COUPLED WITH REFERENCE TO ENTRENCHED PROPERTY RIGHTS IN PRINCIPLE NINE, THIS MIGHT PRESAGE FIRST MOVE TOWARDS COMPENSATION IN LIEU OF RETURN.

7. IT IS ALSO SALUTARY THAT GOC PAPER LEAVES EVENTUAL POWERS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT UNDEFINED, ADVOCATING THAT THEY MERELY BE "SUBSTANTIAL".

8. ENTRENCHED RIGHTS FOR GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOTS LIVING IN EACH OTHERS' AREA SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY PRESENT PROBLEM (PRINCIPLE 8); NOR SHOULD ENTRENCHMENT OF "HUMAN RIGHTS". UNDER 1960 CONSTITUTION ENTRENCHED PROVISIONS COULD NOT BE AMENDED WITHOUT APPROVAL OF BOTH COMMUNITIES.

9. IN OUR VIEW, AREA IN WHICH GAP IS LARGEST IS PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH WHERE GOC CALLS FOR SPEEDY WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ARMED FORCES AND RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES. OBVIOUSLY, THIS IS WISHFUL THINKING BUT REFLECTS UN RESOLUTIONS, AND DEMAND IS A POLITICAL ESSENTIAL FOR ANY GREEK LEADER AT THIS STAGE.

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